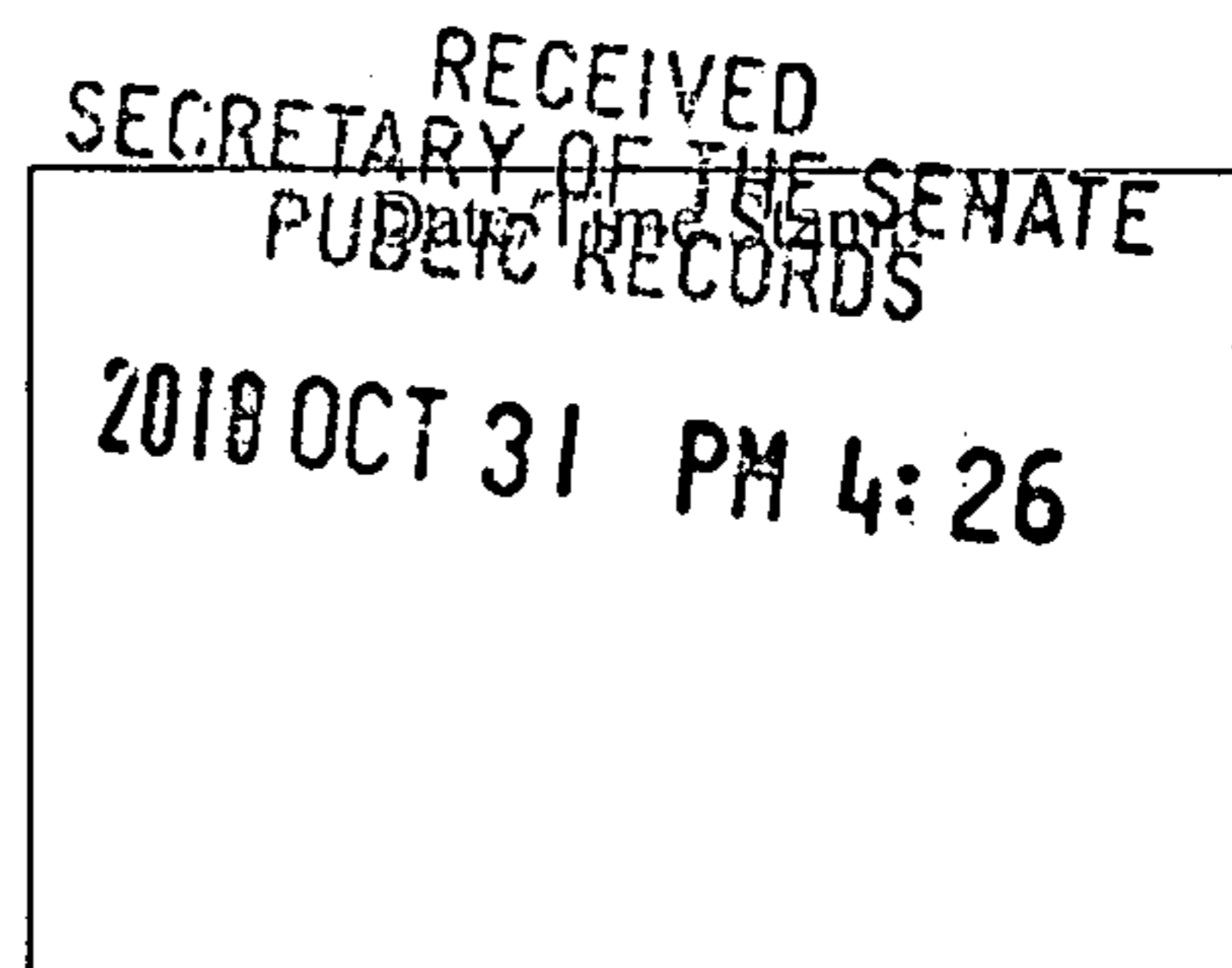


COVER SHEET FOR AMENDMENT OF POST-TRAVEL SUBMISSION



Instructions: Use this form as a cover sheet for any paperwork you may need to submit to the **Office of Public Records** in order to make your Privately Sponsored Post-Travel Submission complete in accordance with Rule 35. **Only complete this form if you need to submit an amendment to a post-travel filing you have already submitted.**

SUBMIT DIRECTLY TO THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS IN 232 HART BUILDING

Name of Traveler: Sergio Gor

Employing Office/Committee: Senator Rand Paul

Travel Expenses Paid by (List all sources): CATO Institute

Travel Date(s): August 5-11, 2018

Description/Title of Attached Forms: Trip invitation, Private sponsor travel certification form, final itinerary

Purpose of Amendment (describe the reason for amending original submission):

Oct 31, 2019

(Date)

[Signature]
(Signature of Traveler)



June 15, 2018

PETER N. GOETTLE
President and CEO

Mr. Sergio Gor
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of Senator Rand Paul
124 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Gor:

As you are aware, as part of our work, Cato Institute scholars and staff often travel abroad in furtherance of our mission. Visiting relevant countries on fact-finding trips plays an important role in maintaining the expertise required to produce our research in critical areas such as foreign policy and defense studies, national security, trade relations, and international economics. It also allows us to maintain and further develop our network of contacts and experts on the ground overseas, which plays a crucial role in supporting our expertise and helping to propagate appreciation of our cornerstone values of individual liberty, free markets, and peace.

Such activity is particularly relevant to our Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity, which was established to promote a better understanding around the world of the benefits of market and political liberalism, in order to protect human rights, extend the range of personal choice, and communicate the compelling story of economic freedom's central role in ending world poverty. One of the Center's senior fellows is Dr. Andrei Illarionov, a leading expert on the Russian economy and political situation and Russo-American relations. Dr. Illarionov was a key economic advisor to Vladimir Putin from 2000 to 2005, but is now an outspoken critic of the Federation's encroachments on liberty.

Andrei and I traveled to Russia in November, 2016, to meet with a number of market and political liberals in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in order to assess the economic and political situation in the country and its implications for the United States and U.S. policy. This summer, we are planning another fact-finding trip to Russia from August 4 to August 11, 2018, with visits to Moscow and St. Petersburg. Our purpose is to meet with a broader array—compared to our last visit—of Russian nationals, representatives of the political opposition, American expatriates, and scholars, in order to further understand and assess the situation. Particular areas of interest include the Russian economy, trade relations with the United States, implications for U.S. defense and security policy, and the outlook for political dissent. Participants will include Cato leadership, select Cato scholars, and several Cato partners.

We would be honored if you could join us on this fact-finding trip. Your expertise in foreign relations, security policy and civil liberties, and—of course—free

June 15, 2018
Mr. Sergio Gor
Page 2

market economics, will add materially to our discussions. In addition, I think the opportunity to access some of our network members in Russia will be beneficial to your own expertise and understanding.

Thanks very much for considering this request, and I hope you'll be able to join us for what promises to be a very memorable experience—which would be made all the more so by your participation. Please feel free to be in touch with me directly if I can answer any questions you may have.

With best regards,

R

**PNG/ems
Enclosure**

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PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): Cato Institute
2. Description of the trip: A fact-finding trip to research, discuss, and explore issues related to Russia and the U.S., including economics and economic development, foreign policy and security, trade relations, and the state of individual freedoms.
3. Dates of travel: August 5-11, 2018
4. Place of travel: Moscow & St. Petersburg, Russia
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Senator Rand Paul, Mrs. Kelley Paul (spouse), and Mr. Sergio Gor (Deputy Chief of Staff to Senator Rand Paul)
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 - ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
 - ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
 - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
 - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

- OR -

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (*see questions 6 and 10*).

- OR -

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

As the sole sponsor of this fact-finding trip, the Cato Institute has developed the plans and itinerary and assembled the participants, which include Cato staff, Cato scholars, and Cato partners in addition to outside speakers, Russia experts, former government officials, and advocates for greater liberalism in Russia.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

See attached Addendum 1.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

None; Cato is a first time sponsor.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

See attached Addendum 1.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate	\$3,064.71	\$2,001.00	\$535.00	\$250.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

___ This trip is arranged and organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation. ___

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

See attached Addendum 1.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

The Ritz Carlton, Moscow (Tverskaya St, 3, Moscow, Russia, 125009) ; Hotel Astoria, St. Petersburg (Bol'shaya Morskaya Ulitsa,
39, St. Petersburg, Russia, 190000)

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

See attached Addendum 1.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Meals and lodging are in compliance with State Department per diem rates.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Business class train from Moscow to St. Petersburg;

Business class flight from St. Petersburg to D.C.

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None.

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: 

Name and Title: Peter N. Goettler, President and CEO

Name of Organization: Cato Institute

Address: 1000 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC, 20001

Telephone Number: 202-842-0200

Fax Number: 202-842-3490

E-mail Address: bsantos@cato.org

Addendum 1 to the Private Sponsor Certification Form submitted by the Cato Institute

Question 13

The Cato Institute's mission is to originate, disseminate, and increase understanding of public policies based on the principles of individual liberty, limited government, free markets, and peace. Cato's vision is to create free, open, and civil societies founded on libertarian principles. Cato's core areas of expertise and education include trade and foreign policy and defense studies. In addition, our Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity advances policy in the areas of global economic development, economic freedom, civil liberties, and offers key regional expertise in areas such as Russia, India, China, and other important countries. The Center's senior fellow, Andrei Ilarionov, is a former economic official in Russia and an advocate of openness, liberalism, and the rule of law in Russia. Fulfilling our mission is impossible without a high level of expertise and a global network of experts. To this end, overseas fact-finding trips such as proposed serve a key function in further developing Cato's base of knowledge and expertise in the key areas cited above and building and maintaining our global network of contacts. They also provide for exchange of ideas and viewpoints that are essential to the Institute in defending and advancing its positions in the foreign policy, security, trade, international economics, and global liberty realms.

Question 15

As a public policy research organization, Cato plays a critical role in educating opinion leaders including policymakers, academics, and media. The Institute also reaches a vast audience through dozens of conferences each year that are open to the public; hundreds of op-eds, TV/radio appearances, and blog posts; speaking engagements at conferences and educational institutions across the country; and a broad portfolio of analysis and research that includes reports, white papers, books, research briefs, and others. In addition, Cato offers an extraordinary array of internet-based resources free of charge that reach opinion leaders, policy experts, academics, students, and the general public.

Question 18

In order to achieve the objectives outlined herein, travel to Russia is essential from the standpoint of studying and understanding the current political environment and economic situation in the countries, as well as access to consultations with on-site experts and former government officials. In addition, a frank exchange of views and knowledge with freedom advocates in Russia is only possible through in-person visits.

Question 20

While a security accompaniment is not deemed necessary, in both Moscow and St. Petersburg, a safe and secure hotel in a central location is essential nonetheless to ensure proper security for a U.S. Senator, thus avoiding as many commutes and side streets as possible. In both locations the selected hotels also provide walking proximity to a number of the working sessions and presentation sites.

Addendum 2: Question 16 – Total Expenses for Each Participant

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
Sergio Gor Deputy Chief of Staff to Senator Rand Paul	Total: \$3,064.71	Total: \$2,001.00	Total: \$535.00	Total: \$250.00
	Vehicle/Driver for Moscow, St. Petersburg: \$910.00	Moscow: \$990.00 (3 nights at \$330/night). Mr. Sergio Gor's room is less costly than Senator Paul's since it is a single occupancy room.	Moscow total: \$285.00 -Breakfast: \$75.00 (3 days, \$25/day) -Lunch: \$75.00 (3 days, \$25/day) -Dinner: \$135.00 (3 days, \$45/day)	Guides: \$70.00 (over 6 days)
	Business class train to St. Petersburg: \$242.00	St. Petersburg: \$1,011.00 (3 nights at \$337.00/night). Mr. Sergio Gor's room is less costly than Senator Paul's since it is a single occupancy room.	St. Petersburg total: \$250.00 -Breakfast: \$50.00 (2 days, \$25/day) -Lunch: \$90.00 (3 days, \$30/day) -Dinner: \$110.00 (2 days, \$55/day)	Entrance fees: \$180.00 (over 6 days)
	Business class flight, LED – IAD: \$1,912.71			

CATO INSTITUTE TRIP TO RUSSIA
Agenda and Itinerary

Date/Day	Approximate Timing	Agenda
5 August/Day 1 Moscow	0855-1440h	Aeroflot Flight SU 2571 from London to Moscow (NB: The Cato Institute will not be covering expenses of the London-to-Moscow flight for Senator Rand Paul, Mrs. Kelley Paul, or Mr. Sergio Gor; these expenses will be their own responsibility.)
	1440-1610h	Transfer to Hotel
	1610-1730h	Personal Time
	1730-1830h	Afternoon Meeting Speaker: Cato President Peter Goettler Format and Topic: Russia and the U.S.A.—A Path Forward; Presentation followed by Discussion Objectives: Objectives of the trip, historical assessment of Russo-American relations. Areas of possible improvement in relations between the United States and the Russian Federation.
	1830-1900h	Personal Time
	1900-2200h	Dinner Meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, Former First Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Format and Topic: Russian Political Situation and Russia/U.S.A. Relations; discussion. Objectives: Insights from an historic figure in recent Russian history and Russian/US relations. How was détente achieved in the Cold War and is a normalization of relations possible with the United States today?
6 August/Day 2 Moscow	0800-0900h	Breakfast at Hotel Speaker: Senator Rand Paul Format: Presentation followed by Q&A/Discussion Objectives: Geopolitical ramifications of engaging with adversaries around the world. From Russia to North Korea to Cuba, how a realist foreign policy is formulated.

	0900-1200h	<p>Moscow, Kremlin Armory Museum & Kremlin Grounds</p> <p>Speaker: Elena Gagarina or other museum curator (Invited)</p> <p>Format and Topic: Tour followed by group discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: A history of cultural exchanges between the United States and Russia. Explore why all cultural exchanges have been suspended between the Smithsonian and the Kremlin. Discuss a path forward to resuming cultural exchanges between both nations.</p>
	1200-1330h	Lunch
	1330 –1730h	<p>Meetings with the Russian government & Tour of Kremlin Palace</p> <p>Participants: Members of the Federation Council, Duma members, Senator Kosachev (Confirmed)</p> <p>Format and Topic: Discussion sessions. Current political and economic situation in Russia; state of US/Russian relations; trade and business considerations.</p> <p>Objectives: Bilateral discussion; understanding of key issues between Russia/USA.</p> <p>Participants: Meeting with Foreign Minister Lavrov (Invited)</p> <p>Format: Meet and greet, followed by group discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: Bilateral discussions and possible future areas of cooperation. Security briefing on joint anti-terrorism measures being conducted. Prospects for resumption of US adoptions of Russian orphans.</p> <p>Participants: High ranking government officials.</p> <p>Format: Group discussions.</p> <p>Objectives: Learn of areas of cooperation between the United States and the Russian Federation.</p> <p>Participants: Russian Federation Ministry of Defense</p> <p>Format and Topic: Briefing on joint counter-terrorism coordination between the United States and the Russian Federation.</p> <p>Objectives: Gain an understanding of areas of cooperation between the US DOD and Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, including combating terror jointly around the world.</p>
	1730-1900h	Personal Time
	1900-2200h	<p>Working Dinner Discussion with American Expatriates</p> <p>Speaker: Ambassador Jon Huntsman (Invited) and/or US Officials from US Embassy (Invited)</p>

		<p>Format and Topic: Russian Treatment of American Citizens in Russia; areas of cooperation & business links. Presentation followed by Q&A/Discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: Understand significant security issues and potential areas of cooperation and business links between the U.S. and Russia.</p>
7 August/Day 3 Moscow	0800-0900h	Breakfast at Hotel
	0900-1230h	<p>St. Basil's Cathedral, Cold War Bunker</p> <p>Accompanying Speaker: Cato Senior Fellow Flemming Rose</p> <p>Format and Topic: The Evolution of Russia and Russia/US relations since 1985; Rose's experiences as a journalist living in the Soviet Union during the Cold War; multiple presentations followed by discussion/Q&A.</p> <p>Objectives: Tap economic and political experience to understand recent Soviet/Russian history, how the country has evolved since the late Cold War period, and policy implications for the United States.</p>
	1230-1400	<p>Working Lunch Discussion</p> <p>Speaker: Professor Stephen Cohen, New York University</p> <p>Format and Topic: Discussion and Q&A about Russian/U.S. relations.</p> <p>Objectives: Overall understanding of Russian/U.S. relations and how they've evolved in recent history. Discuss specific issues such as the suspension of cultural exchanges and how related court cases that have mandated Soviet era confiscation of art and cultural objects at the conclusion of World War II.</p>
	1400-1730h	<p>Working Visit to Tour Novaya Gazeta Publication</p> <p>Meeting with Editor in chief of Novaya Gazeta, Mr. Muratov.</p> <p>Format and Topic: Presentation and discussion. A Free Press in Russia? Comparisons between US and Russian press freedoms. Is there an opposition in Russia? Presentation and discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: Overview of the formal opposition in Russia.</p>
	1730-1830h	Personal time
	1830-2100h	<p>Working Dinner with Russian Liberals and Political Opposition</p> <p>Speakers: Members of opposition (Invited)</p> <p>Format and Topic: The State of Opposition and Prospects for Liberal Reform in Russia; multiple presentations followed by roundtable discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: Understand the current state of autocracy and opposition in Russia. Is opposition a real thing in Russia? Understand the dynamics that have enabled a dominant one-party system.</p>

8 August/Day 4 Moscow/ St. Petersburg	0830-0930h	Transfer to Moscow Leningradskiy Railroad Station
	0940-1332h	Sapsan High-Speed Train #760A to St. Petersburg Moskovskiy Station
	1332-1415h	Transfer to Hotel
	1415-1545h	Working Lunch Discussion Speaker: Senator Rand Paul Format and Topic: The Baltic Republics and US Security Guarantees; Speech followed by Q&A Objectives: Understand how the expansion of NATO has impacted Russian/USA relations and its overall impact on US national security.
	1545-1700h	Personal time
	1700-2000h	Lecture and Discussion Sessions at the Hermitage Speaker: Dr. Mikhail Piotrovsky (Invited) Format and Topic: Tour followed by discussion, Q&A. Objective: Focus on the possibility of resuming normal relations between US Museums and the Hermitage. What would it take to resume cultural exchanges between our two nations, and what sort of memorandum or legislation would need to be passed in Congress to guarantee safe passage and return for priceless works of art?
	2000-2230h	Working Dinner Speaker: Cato Senior Fellow Andrei Ilarionov (Invited) Format and Topic: The Current Situation in Ukraine; Presentation followed by Q&A. Objectives: To better understand and important security issue and contentious element in USA/Russian relations.
9 August/Day 5 St. Petersburg	0730-0830h	Breakfast at Hotel
	0830-0900h	Personal Time
	0900-1500h	Peterhof Speaker: Elena Kalnitskaya (Invited) Format and Topic: Half-day seminar. Presentation, group discussions and Q&A amidst visit to Peterhof; lunch discussion. Objectives: Certain elements of Russian history are crucial to an understanding of the current governing situation and how it may or may not evolve in the future, with implications for U.S. strategy. In particular, participants will develop an understanding of how the excesses of the Tzarist era led to the Russian Revolution and long Soviet period. What role has this history played in Russia today remaining an autocratic state while virtually all the other autocracies of Europe have given way to liberal democracy?
	1500-1830h	Personal time
	1830-2130h	Working Dinner with Elected officials.

		Speakers: Mayor Poltavchenko (Invited) Format and Topic: Dinner followed by remarks and Q&A. Governing in modern Russia. Challenges and benefits of a centralized federal government working with states and cities. Objectives: Understand the current state of autocracy; discuss comparative politics to US System and areas of improvement in both nations. Discuss possible political exchanges between local government and the US Congress.
10 August/Day 6 St. Petersburg	0700-0830h	Breakfast at Hotel
	0900-1300h	Catherine's Palace Speakers: Vladimir Voronchenko (Invited) Topic and Format: Priceless objects and possibilities of a cultural exchange of art between this institution and the Smithsonian Museums. Tour followed by group discussion on premises. Objectives: Senator Paul has discussed with various officials in Washington the possibility of resuming cultural exchanges between Russia and the United States. Vital input from museum partners in Russia is essential in understanding the problem. Follow-ups in the US will include State Department engagement, Smithsonian Museum engagement, and possible legislative proposals in the US Senate.
	1300-1500h	Lunch and Personal time
	1500-1700h	Concluding Meeting Speakers: Senator Rand Paul & Peter Goettler Format and Topic: Facilitated group discussion. Trip review. Objectives: Observations from Russia, legislative discussion on possible solutions to adoptions, cultural exchanges and sanctions relating to elected officials. Discussion of foreign policy implications for the U.S. and other policy considerations such as trade.
	1700h onwards	Personal Time
11 August/Day 7	0625-1255h	Aeroflot Flight SU 33 from St. Petersburg to Moscow, connecting to Aeroflot Flight SU 104 from Moscow to Dulles